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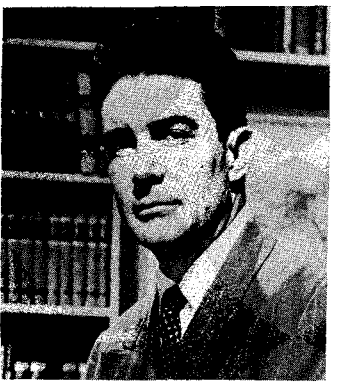

DAN SMOOT

ILL FARES THE LAND

By Dan P. Van Gorder

Mr. Van Gorder, a former newspaper reporter, is an agricultural statistician. From 1929 to 1954, he wrote a daily syndicated feature column on horticulture and related subjects. During the Hoover administration, he became convinced that the United States was suffering a food shortage, becoming dependent on foreign supply. He worked with other agricultural specialists and with members of Congress to prove that new deal farm programs were founded on false statistics issued by the Department of Agriculture. He carried his fight to the Republican National Committee in 1940, but there he was blocked by the Republicans' me-too political philosophy. In the article below, Mr. Van Gorder shows that government controls have created a frightening condition in the United States—especially in view of the fact that President Johnson plans to expand the program of giving American foodstuffs away to the rest of the world.

The agricultural over-production theory, sole foundation of our 32-year-old venture into centralized farm control, is perhaps unique in that it penetrates and shapes so many other facets of our domestic economy besides dominating large segments of our foreign policies. Yet, despite the unpublicized prominence of this concept in our national life, no Congress since 1933 has sought its authorship, questioned its soundness, tested its accuracy, or recognized its flagrant and dangerous fallacies. Now that President Johnson's Great Society extravaganza is being erected exclusively on the same old assumption that we have too many farmers and they are too efficient, a new and closer appraisal of the entire subject is not only justified; it is for the conceivable sake of national survival, urgently imperative.

Most of the complexities of the surplus food concept lie in its ramifications. Within itself it is simple and unambiguous. Modern technology and increasing know-how, say its proponents, enable American farmers to produce more food and fiber than we can sell abroad and consume at home. Only the federal government, armed with tax dollars, is big and powerful enough to sweep back the annual avalanches of unwanted, unneeded, unsalable surpluses. This gigantic and

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costly sweeping process has run the gamut of methods from direct destruction of food in the 1930's — uprooting, burning, and plowing under — to wholesale give-aways in the 1960's, the latter designated resplendently as Food for Peace.

Because most informational media over the past three decades have passively accepted the government's claims of "burdensome surpluses," the American people have remained under the false delusion of abundance. Frankness and careful documentation are, therefore, necessary in this survey. Fortunately, several closely related facts supply the framework.

FACT NO. 1. *The public was promised in* 1933 *that federal farm control was a temporary, stopgap measure.*

Section 13 of the original Agricultural Adjustment Act, passed by Congress and signed into law in May, 1933, provided:

"This title shall cease to be in effect whenever the President finds and proclaims that the national emergency in relation to agriculture has been ended . . . ."

Now, over 32 years later, bureaucratic regulation of agriculture is not only still with us, it is costlier, broader in scope, and prospectively more permanent than ever. Congress appropriates, and Washington's bloated bureaus spend between five billion and eight billion dollars a year to curtail farm production. In other words, here is a law with a built-in admission of failure.

FACT NO. 2. *The United States lost self-sufficiency in food production eleven years before farm control was adopted.*

In his 1933 annual report, page 6, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace wrote:

"We have at least 40 million too many acres of plow land in crops."

In an address at Pittsburgh, December 6, 1935, M. L. Wilson, Under-Secretary of Agriculture, repeated this opinion in terms of farm manpower:

"Close students estimate that of the six million farmers that we now have, two million of them are not needed in agriculture."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a speech at New York, October 31, 1936, said:

"Of course, we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses."

The Democratic Party platform of 1928 declared:

"There is need of supplemental legislation for control and handling of agricultural surpluses."

Nevertheless, the long-camouflaged truth remains that in 1922 (year beginning July 1), for the first time in our nation's history, our farms failed to produce enough food to supply export demands and meet domestic requirements. Our foreign trade ledger for farm commodities for 1922 to 1932, inclusive, reads:

Total farm exports	**$17,282,177,000**
Total farm imports	**19,699,561,000**
Import excess	**$ 2,417,384,000**

These statistics may be verified in any annual editions of *Agricultural Statistics* for 1936 to 1943. Totals cited here are taken from the 1940 edition, page 486. The same statistics are found on page 675 of the 1940 edition of *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, published by the United States Department of Commerce.

On the few occasions when proponents of the surplus food theory have been forced to comment on our mounting dependence on foreign farms for agricultural commodities, they have invariably shrugged off the seriousness of the situation with claims that a preponderance of farm imports consists of bananas, spices, coffee, tea, and other exotic crops that cannot be grown on temperate-zone farms. To refute this untenable explanation, it is only necessary to examine foreign records found in *Statistical Abstract* editions for 1926 to 1934.

Total farm commodity imports for the 1922-1932 period totalled 150 million tons of which 100 million tons were supplemental; that is, they could have been produced on American farms by American farmers. Included are: 820,000 tons of beef (equivalent to the dressed weight of approximately 4 million head of 800-pound steers); 660,000 tons of animal oils; 3,000,000 tons of dairy products (computed as whole milk);

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560,000 tons of eggs and egg products (in terms of whole eggs); 2,680,000 tons of fruit; 3,500,000 tons of vegetables; 1,700,000 tons of potatoes; 5,760,000 tons of flaxseed and linseed oil (computed as seed); 1,370,000 tons of wool (equivalent to shearings from 345 million head of sheep); 890,000 tons of cotton (equivalent to over 3.5 million 500-pound bales); 380,000 tons of tobacco; 45,000,000 tons of sugar.

FACT NO. 3. *The over-production theory gained credence and was defended against adverse criticism later by a campaign of misleading half-truths expressed by high government officials.*

In his 1939 annual report, Secretary Wallace wrote:

"The total of 74,300,000 head [cattle] on January 1, [1934] was the largest ever reported."

The whole truth? The largest number of cattle ever reported occurred in 1888 when we had .970 head per capita of total population. The 1934 average to which Mr. Wallace referred was only .588 head per capita. Here is one out of scores of examples where the per capita measuring stick was obviously avoided with deliberation. In fact, it can be factually said that the over-production hoax was constructed almost entirely by official avoidance of a per capita analysis of our national food resources. And this deceptive practice is still employed. For example, in the March, 1965, issue of *Livestock and Meat Situation*, published by the United States Department of Agriculture, this half-truth is found on page 3:

"The number of cattle and calves on farms *rose to a record* 107.2 million head on January 1, 1965 . . . ."

The whole truth? The .550 head of cattle per capita at the beginning of 1965 was more than 43 percent below the peak of 1888 mentioned above.

Again, in his 1939 report Secretary Wallace wrote:

"Since 1900 the trend in total meat production has been upward."

The whole truth? Production of beef, veal, pork, mutton and lamb (the meats to which Mr. Wallace referred) averaged 184 pounds per capita in 1900 and only 149 pounds in 1933. There is only one honest, objective way to measure a nation's food — by the number of persons fed from the supply. Otherwise statistics are meaningless, and the English language a medium of deception instead of information.

But the employment of half-truths extended to the number of farmers as well as to the quantity of food they produced. In a speech at Omaha, Nebraska, October 10, 1936, President Roosevelt said:

"In 1932 America's farm population was the greatest in our history."

The whole truth? Census records show that farmers constituted 58 percent of our total population in 1870; 41 percent in 1900; and, on the date to which the President referred, only 25 percent.

FACT NO. 4. *Government efforts to legislate prosperity into American farming have failed.*

No phase of early propaganda to fasten the tentacles of bureaucracy around farming was more widely proclaimed than that the major goal of federal regulation was to give the farmer a larger share in the national economy. This, New Deal spokesmen stressed, could be done only by government control over production. Did the scheme work?

According to *Farm Income Situation*, published quarterly by the United States Department of Agriculture, issue of July, 1965, page 55, farm income for 1964 was 3.4 percent of the national total. The same statistical table reveals that the 1929 farmer received 9.2 percent of the national total.

According to the Economic Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, farmers received 47 cents out of every dollar American housewives spent for food in 1929; only 37 cents in 1964. During the same period, according to *Farm Income Situation*, in the issue mentioned above, page 63, farm operating expenses have increased 310 percent; and taxes on farm property have mounted 184 percent.

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But perhaps the most convincing explanation why the government's efforts to control farming by law and edict have failed is found in:

FACT NO. 5. *Plans to control agriculture from Washington were originally devised, not to aid the farmer, but to gain a toehold for totalitarianism over our entire economy.*

Evidence of this motive and method comes from George N. Peek, named by president Roosevelt as the first Administrator of the 1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act. For many years previously Mr. Peek was recognized as one of the most constructive friends of American farmers, a man of great executive ability and unimpeachable integrity.

He resigned his administrative post in less than a year, disappointed and frustrated. In 1936, collaborating with Samuel Crowther, of the *Saturday Evening Post*, he wrote a book — *Why Quit Our Own?* — describing his experience while directing the new farm regulatory legislation. He wrote:

"I entered what I thought was a Democratic Administration, not because it was Democratic but because it was pledged to a certain course of action. I eventually found that I was not in a Democratic Administration but in a curious collection of socialists and internationalists who were neither Republican nor Democratic."

The narrative then tells about scores of self-styled intellectuals, chiefly from eastern universities, who flocked into Washington in the late winter of 1933, elbowing their way or being invited into the blossoming New Deal, most of them to places of no inconsiderable authority. Their proposals for checking and reversing the economic recession, Mr. Peek relates, ranged from the mildest forms of socialism to an out-and-out duplication of the Soviet Union. On but one point, he writes, were they all agreed — the America of 1789-1932 had been a dismal and colossal failure. It was their destined duty to make it over. *And they did.* Their first step was the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

Mr. Peek says:

"The major policies of agriculture and foreign trade are in charge of men who have never earned their livings in industry, commerce, finance or farming. Presenting facts to them is a sheer waste of time. They are long on theories but short on simple arithmetic."

Continuing his description of the young pedants who pressured their ideologies through an apathetic Congress into our first farm control legislation, Mr. Peek writes:

"Since they knew neither workers nor farmers, they were very certain that both were well-defined classes very much in need of being educated in the right way and led. They saw no difference between American workers and farmers and the Russian varieties. They deeply admired everything Russian . . . . To them Russia was the promised land and the sooner the United States became like Russia, the better for everyone. Just as they could see little wrong with Russia, they could see little good in the United States. For a while the notion was popular among a certain set that relief work should be pushed forward with the intent of driving the whole country on relief and thus making the capitalistic system commit suicide."

Here follows a terse, one-sentence summation of the true, but never publicized purpose behind the agricultural over-production ruse:

"The AAA became a means of buying the farmer's birthright as a preliminary to breaking down the whole individualistic system of the country."

Logically, it should be asked why these ardent admirers of Russia selected farming, instead of one of the major manufacturing industries, as the arena in which to wage the first skirmish of their drive toward collectivism. Mr. Peek explains this:

"They are talking social revolution and they have the idea that it is the mission of the Roosevelt Administration to turn us into some kind of a socialistic state. They think the place to start is with the farmers because it is the farmers who in other countries have formed the chief obstacle to socialism."

Bringing the diagnosis up to date: has American agriculture been strengthened or weakened by the 32 years of government therapy planned by this group whom Mr. Peek describes? Let's examine the patient's condition.

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FACT NO. 6. *The United States is the world's leading beef importing nation.*

According to *World Agricultural Production and Trade*, a monthly publication of the United States Department of Agriculture, issue of August, 1964, page 33, our beef and veal imports for 1963 totalled 1,677 million pounds (dressed or carcass weight), compared with 1,146 million pounds for the United Kingdom in second place, and Italy third with 569 million pounds. And it should be pointed out that our total does not include 183 million pounds (dressed weight) of imported live cattle.

FACT NO. 7. *Despite the billions of tax dollars poured into our corn-hog curtailment program since 1933, we rank second among pork-importing nations.*

In 1963, according to the publication cited above, page 34, we exported 129 million pounds of pork while importing 225 million pounds. We lost self-sufficiency in pork in 1953. For the 11-year period, 1953 to 1963, our foreign trade in pork has been: Total exports 977 million pounds; total imports 2,028 million pounds.

We lost self-sufficiency in all red meats (beef, veal, pork, mutton and lamb) in 1935. With the exception of the years 1942 to 1947, our dependence on foreign sources for these basic meats has continued unbroken. According to the government publication already cited above, our 1963 imports of red meats were exceeded only by the United Kingdom — the United States 2,096 million pounds, the United Kingdom 3,296 million pounds. The 1948-1963 story is little short of frightening — export totals 3,763 million pounds; imports, 14,699 million pounds.

FACT NO. 8. *We first became a beef-importing nation in* 1912.

The story of our gradual decline in cattle raising after the turn of the century includes the final absorption of virgin range land in the West, rapid expansion of cattle raising in South Africa, Australia and Argentina, plus the rise of nationalism in Europe. Since 1912, including two global wars (when farm imports are necessarily low and exports high), our foreign trade in beef reads: Total exports 3,808 million tons; total imports 10,926 million tons. Approximately 500,000 tons of this import balance was accumulated during the seven years preceding the "kill and plow-under" era of the New Deal. During the six-year period, 1958 to 1963, we exported 803 million pounds of beef and imported 8,438 million pounds. Yet, incomprehensible as it may seem, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman stated in the June 29, 1964, issue of *Foreign Agriculture*, page 11: *"Beef is in surplus in the United States and meets the basic requirements of P.L.* 480 *eligibility."* (This is the law under which alleged surplus foods are distributed to foreign nations — i.e. Food for Peace.) In other words, after a six-year period in which we had suffered an import balance of 3,817,000 tons of beef, the Secretary of Agriculture states officially: "Beef is in surplus supply in the United States . . . ." His statement was not challenged.

FACT NO. 9. *The American people have not been told the truth about our dwindling livestock resources.*

The following table is compiled from annual editions of *Statistical Abstracts* of the United States, going back to the 1904 issue, also to recent issues of Agricultural Statistics. It measures the numbers of animals on our farms per capita of total population:

Year	*Milk Cows*	*All Cattle*	*Hogs*	*Sheep*
1870	.251	.806	.876	.975
1880	.234	.864	.884	.928
1890	.238	.953	.765	.707
1900	.217	.785	.671	.632
1932	.199	.527	.475	.431
1965	.090	.550	.273	.137

FACT NO. 10. *The major evils of the agricultural over-production theory lie in a piling-up of excessive population in towns and cities.*

The true goals and methods underlying the New Deal's plans to regulate American farming from Washington were officially voiced, apparently only once. In an address at Charlottesville, Virginia, July 13, 1934, Mordecai Ezekial, Economic Adviser to Secretary Wallace, put into 18 simple words the end toward which the Roosevelt administration aimed: "not 'back to the

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farm,' but 'Factoryward Ho!' is the slogan we must adopt and put into practice."

Those words, spoken in 1934, prophetic almost to the point of being eerie, sound like the marching orders for President Johnson's Great Society 30 years later. Actually, in initiating the "farm" program, the government embarked on the greatest urbanization drive in recorded history.

Examination of a few "before and after" aspects of 32 years of government bungling of agriculture provides a frightening, and shameful, commentary on political exploitation of a nation's food resources.

In 1933, the ratio of urban to farm population in the United States was 74 to 26; on July 1, 1965, it was 94 to 6.

The value of farm commodity imports has risen from $6.60 per capita in 1933 to more than $24 last year. The key to this trend is found in the State Department.

Synchronized with the "make-America-over" campaign in the Department of Agriculture was an equally vigorous drive in the State Department to eradicate protective tariffs. This, of course, was predicated on the principle often enunciated by Secretary of State Cordell Hull throughout his long public life — that war is caused by tariffs. Under-Secretary Francis B. Sayre, son-in-law of former President Woodrow Wilson, voiced this shibboleth in an address at the University of Virginia, July 7, 1938:

"Uneconomic trade barriers forge the thunderbolts of war."

Earlier, Mr. Sayre, speaking before the Academy of Political and Social Science, at Philadelphia, April 25, 1936, had warned:

"If goods cannot cross frontiers, armies will."

How successfully this crusade to mesh our domestic economy into a one-world structure of free trade and the ultimate brotherhood of man proved during the next thirty years is indicated in a press release from the Department of Agriculture, dated September 4, 1963. Here Secretary Freeman, with an obvious note of elation, announced that the United States protects a lower percentage of its farm commodities with tariffs than does any other leading nation — Canada protects 41 percent of its farm produce, Italy 63 percent, Belgium and Japan 76 percent, Denmark 87 percent, West Germany 93 percent, France and Switzerland 94 percent, Norway 97 percent, and the United States only 26 percent.

Commenting on the State Department's three decades of tariff reductions as they affect farming, Mr. Freeman said:

". . . . all major trading partners practice a higher degree of agricultural protectionism than does the United States . . . . Farmers of the United States carry out their production operations with far less protection from competitive imports than do farmers of practically all other countries . . . . the United States has steadily been reducing its tariff rates on agricultural imports for 30 years, beginning with enactment of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in the 1930's . . . . over half our agricultural imports are products that compete with our own farm production."

The Secretary neglected to add that lowered tariffs may affect farmers adversely through lateral channels. For example, between 1932 and 1962 the value of imported cotton manufactures increased more than 900 percent and wool manufactures more than 1,500 percent. To produce the wool now used annually in our vast textile industry would require more than 80 million sheep on our farms. On January 1, 1965, we had only 26.6 million.

FACT NO. 11. *Under the "Factoryward Ho!" program the government has been compelled to encourage a spread-the-work policy in industry to (a) Absorb more rural workers into urban life; (b) Provide work for the normal accruement of urban employables; and (c) Create jobs for workers displaced by automation.*

This short-sighted, stop-gap course has started a mounting spiral of evils which government officials for the past three decades, both legislative and administrative, of both major political parties, either have lacked the courage to face or the statesmanship to discern. Chief among these evils are:

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1. Shorter work weeks and days for union labor, earlier retirement, longer vacations with pay, and an ever-expanding array of additional "fringe benefits," all contributing to inflation in one of its most vicious forms.

2. With governmental blessings, union labor enjoys a 5-day, 40-hour week, with the whole labor movement pressuring Congress and public opinion for a 30- to 35-hour week, compared to farmers compelled by unchangeable occupational realities to work a 7-day week of 80 to 110 hours. Apparently, urban writers and city-bred TV panelists who glibly glorify the marvels of modern technology on the farm, are incapable of understanding that cows must be milked 7 days a week, not 5 days. They must be milked on a 12-to-14-hour basis, not 8 hours. Hogs, poultry, beef cattle have appetites on Saturday and Sunday as well as on the other five days.

3. Under encumbrances placed on him by his own government, the farmer must go into the labor market for help and compete against the union bricklayer, for example, who makes more than $40 for an 8-hour day of labor. What kind of help can the farmer procure? How much longer can agriculture survive in the United States against handicaps so formidable? When will legislative and administrative officials muster the courage to resist demands of powerful labor unions to widen further the chasm between industrial working conditions and those imposed on the men and women who feed us?

4. Production of such important but hand-labor crops as strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, pears, peaches and apples has declined drastically in recent years because, so former growers say, the supply of seasonal labor for harvesting is no longer procurable from nearby villages and towns. Those who used to seek the extra money they could earn on small fruit farms are now content to live on government relief. Eastern apple growers encountered this problem last fall and pickers were imported from the West Indies—many into that publicized region of chronic unemployment known as Appalachia.

5. And towering above all — crime, juvenile delinquency, venereal diseases, school drop-outs, drug traffic and drug addiction, prostitution, illegitimacy, official graft, and a supine and contagious dependence on government hand-outs increase in direct proportion as cities grow larger and more crowded. The price America will likely have to pay in the future for government-encouraged idleness in our top-heavy urban centers is but lightly reflected in recent riots and revolution in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. Only one beneficiary emerges from this planned erosion of law and order—the politician who knows from experience that the growing army of free-loaders, fed and pampered in fetid cities, will continue to keep him in office in

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU getting BA and MA degrees, 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American civilization. From 1942 to 1951, he was an FBI agent: three and a half years on communist investigations; two years on FBI headquarters staff; almost four years on general FBI cases in various places. He resigned from the FBI and, from 1951 to 1955, was commentator on national radio and television programs, giving *both* sides of controversial issues. In July, 1955, he started his present profit-supported, free-enterprise business: publishing *The Dan Smoot Report*, a weekly magazine available by subscription; and producing a weekly news-analysis radio and television broadcast, available for sponsorship by reputable business firms, as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and broadcast give *one* side of important issues: the side that presents documented truth using the American Constitution as a yardstick. If you think Smoot's materials are effective against socialism and communism, you can help immensely — help get subscribers for the *Report*, commercial sponsors for the broadcast.

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return for his protecting and abetting them in their indolence.

The remedy?

We should take farming out of government and government out of farming. More than that, we should eliminate all unconstitutional government controls and restrictions on our economy, permitting a free and vigorous system of private capitalism to reestablish itself. We should also abandon the visionary one-world myth that all wars are caused by tariffs, and should give our farmers the protection they must have to compete with cheaper labor in other countries.

As a vigorous free market economy reestablished itself in the United States, millions of urban dwellers would return to the land, to produce the farm and forestry products which our nation now buys abroad. Responding to the demands of a free market — as they would, with government controls and subsidies removed — American farmers would stress production for a profitable, well-rounded domestic market, with secondary emphasis on production for export.

The alternative?

Let the late Guglielmo Ferrero, eminent Italian sociologist and historian answer from his admirable book, *Ancient Rome and Modern America*:

"The disease which killed the Roman Empire was, in fact, excessive urbanization . . . . The Empire covered itself with cities great and small, rivalling each other in splendor and wealth . . . . Little by little the expenditures of the urban civilization, the cities and their increasing luxuries outdistanced the fertility of the countryside . . . . In order to feed, amuse and clothe crowded city populations; to carry through the construction of magnificent monuments; to provide work for the industries and the arts of the cities, agriculture was little by little ground down by ever increasing burdens.

"One day the Empire awoke to find its cities were swarming with beggars, idlers, vagabonds, plasterers, sculptors, painters, dancers, actors, singers—in fact the whole tribe of the artisans of pleasure and of luxury. But in the fields, which were expected to feed all these men who had crowded into the cities to work or to idle, there was a dearth of peasants to cultivate the land.

"The agriculture of the Empire, and with it the Empire itself, received its death blow . . . . [and] lay a vast ruin; a ruin of shattered monuments, of peoples relapsed into barbarism, of perished arts, of forgotten tongues, of laws thrown to the four winds, of roads, villages and cities razed from the face of the earth, swallowed up in the primeval forest, which slowly and tenaciously thrust out its tentacles in that cemetery of a past civilization and entwined the giant bones of Rome."

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